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183 861 his fellow-men and become known as a kind person only if he at all times respects the wishes of others, particularly those over whom he holds a superior position by reason of his sex or age.

155 183 Yet the machinery which impels the Papago to be peaceful, honest, and industrious is obscure. The dearth of punishment in child-training has been noted. Beginning in the second period of development, five to ten years, children are given ever increasing duties to perform. These tasks demand considerable time, often interrupt play, and are usually uninteresting. Yet parents have little difficulty in getting youngsters to work. The recalcitrant child is lectured or scolded; if he still refuses to obey, he is not ordinarily either compelled or punished.

Why does the Papago child usually accept responsibility without compulsion? Why, as an adult, with the personal freedom he enjoys, is he willing to subordinate his own desires in most matters to the will of the group?

First of all, the very early age at which training is begun is significant. Tots less than four years old are not infrequently given small tasks, and even at this time they are impressed with their responsibility for their younger siblings. This share-the-work program is begun early and maintained so continuously that it seldom fails to be effective. Among the Papago, children learn to work almost as soon as they learn to play; the happy childhood so much desired by adults for their children does not mean an utterly irresponsible one.

626 183 155 The second factor in the molding of Papago personality is one usually present in simple societies: public opinion censures those who deviate from accepted standards of conduct. In any community so small that all the members and their affairs are known to one another, this is a powerful force. Among the Papago there are almost no conventionalized variations from the normal behavior pattern; the guiding principles apply to everyone. No man can ignore them because of his wealth, position as village leader, or special skill. Rather such a man normally obscures his particular superiority and conducts himself in a manner hardly distinguishable from his average fellow-man. Personal achievement directed toward ostentatious self-gain is severely criticized by the Papago; the person who is outstanding in any way must maintain a modesty about his accomplishment that amounts almost to depreciation. At all times a Papago avoids drawing attention to himself and is embarrassed if he fails, for any person, child or adult, is ridiculed and criticized for conspicuous behavior. The facts that failure to perform in a socially approved manner will inevitably become common knowledge and that general censure is sure to follow constitute a powerful deterrent to breaking the mores.

Third, supernatural sanctions tend to enforce the Papago's sense of respon-

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sibility to his group. When very small, he is induced to do as his elders wish by the threat of illness caused by a displeased animal spirit or ghost. Supernatural sanctions also influence the Papago to maintain peaceful relations with his associates: not only is the Papago admonished constantly to avoid quarreling and becoming angry but he is also threatened with illness if he *thinks* badly of another or holds a grudge. Since there is scarcely anything that could stimulate a Papago to respect the feelings of his associates more effectively than his great fear of sickness, the Desert People evade situations which give rise to angry arguments. When together, they conceal their differences with politeness and an outwardly cordial manner. Grievances among them rarely reach a head; they are expressed in gossip or in still more indirect ways. Calling a spade a spade or dragging unpleasantness out into the open for airing and discussion is not admired, recommended, or practiced by the Papago. Their method is not a sneaky, grudge-bearing evasion but a realistic means of dealing with a problem inherent in their mode of living. Their world is small, and there is little escape from it; their interpersonal relations are restricted in number, intimate, and necessary for survival; the situation, to be tolerable, must be peaceful or at least under control in terms of every person concerned.

A fourth factor in the molding of Papago character and behavior is the emphasis on seniority. In all his interpersonal relationships, the young Papago is constantly reminded that the privileges of superior position belong to those with senior status. Adulthood is thereby enhanced; it is an achievement worth the striving. So the child turns his back on the things strictly juvenile. His chief forms of play are imitations of adult work, and at an early age he foregoes these for actual participation in adult duties and recreation. The difference between child and adult activity is not so much one of kind as of degree. Because he is everlastingly reminded of the privileges proper to seniority and adulthood, the child is always reaching for them. Mere age is not sufficient to reap the full benefit, however; children as well as adults gain responsibility and prestige only if they are industrious, and skilful in handling people. Reliability and capability may put a child in charge of his younger siblings. If he proves himself able to manage them diplomatically, he has established his superior position. At the same time he has learned to conduct himself in the way acceptable to the society; he has learned to govern and at the same time respect the wishes of those he governs. His industry and diplomacy have achieved for him respect, prestige, and authority. He knows that industry and diplomacy will be equally effective tools for him tomorrow and throughout his life. This assurance is sufficient compensation for the sacrifices and frustrations of today.

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157 3. Against outer and inner conflicts they seem to defend themselves essentially by evasion and by subjective interpretation of facts and feelings.

4. Though they are able to form clear concepts and to categorize them, the children reveal a tendency to disregard this capacity, enforcing their associative thoughts upon objects of reality. Thus their intellectual approach seems to be largely subjective interpretation, instead of objective and analytical.

These findings and various concomitant ones will be combined in an attempt to develop a picture of the average Papago child's personality and to discover the cultural factors which help to determine this specific personality formation.[2]

155 157 The description of Papago child-training in Part II emphasized the almost complete indulgence of the small child, the liberty of action and decision in vital matters granted to all children, and the Papago methods of discipline: co-operative work, rules of seniority, and fear of the supernatural.

As previously noted, the life-situation of the child after babyhood is very similar to that of adult family members. There is no neat distinction between the reactions and attitudes expected from children and those expected from adults. Though a gradual growth in wisdom is generally assumed and demanded, and the right of decision and free action gradually increases, this process does not stop at maturity; the man of forty as well as the boy of ten listens to the advice of the seventy-year-old head of the family.

The Papago view and organization of life does not distinguish definite developmental phases. Even the very young child is drawn into the co-operative working group with small tasks which increase with advancing age. There are apparently no rites of initiation into adulthood except those for girls entering puberty.

Within the household there is no definite distinction of roles except according to sex. Though the greater weight of authority is on the side of the males, the areas of influence granted to each sex are fluid; they overlap and vary from one family group to the other with the constellation of personalities. In this moderately patriarchal co-operative working group, the accent is more on the co-operative quality than on the patriarchal. The amount of work required from each sex reveals no one-sided exploitation.

The family discipline pattern is characterized by its application to all members alike, regardless of age. There are practically no tales, teachings, or restrictive rules of behavior especially devised for a childish mind. The child who

1. The reader will observe that the analysis of the results of this test is not documented with tables as is the case with tests previously discussed. This is because tables dealing with Rorschach materials are highly technical. Data on the Papago Rorschach results are included in a forthcoming monograph by Irving Hallowell, Royal B. Hassrick, William E. Henry, Alice Joseph, Bruno Klopfer, and Dorothea C. Leighton, "American Indian Rorschach Studies."

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is warned of the sickness-conveying breath of an animal knows that his elders truly believe what they are telling him and that they are conscientiously observing their own warnings. The child who has to interrupt his play to work in the fields or at home sees his parents doing the same kind of work. He himself will eat the wheat he has sown and drink the water he has hauled. He may always be sure that his parents will not call him away from play and give him some task that is meaningless just "to keep him out of mischief." So he realizes that any restrictive and frustrating work is a burden shared by the grown-ups. This sharing of children and adults in common disciplinary experiences probably has a decisive influence on the quality of interpersonal relations within the family group. It also considerably reduces the authoritative, coercive pressure felt and realized by the child.

Open authoritative coercion is represented in the Papago pattern of discipline only in the rules of seniority. Actually, direct coercion based upon the rights of seniority is usually neither harsh nor one-sided; or is it even consistent. It is ordinarily expressed by means of patient, verbal persuasion; it leaves open wide possibilities of appeal to higher instances; and it is so little formalized that not rarely an individual with a strong personality may get the better of the authoritarian rights of his senior.

The social sanction of ridicule, in use among relatives and nonrelatives, is an indirect means of coercion of considerable importance. This sanction, however, seems to be employed without extreme severity or viciousness. Distance between the household units may itself have prevented further development of this restrictive device because its effectiveness depends primarily upon the individual's constant exposure to close scrutiny by a compact group of people, against whose opinion any personal counterattack is hopeless.

This low-pressure discipline has apparently been very adequate for producing personalities capable of coping with living conditions in the southern Arizona desert. A more severe and formalized system would possibly have hampered the life of mobile defense the Papago had to lead. For centuries seminomadic, moving between their mountain homes and the valleys according to the changing water supply, they needed their youngsters helpful and compliant, but not a submissive burden, dependent upon constant direction or firmly tied to a system of rules and laws which could not possibly be kept functioning during the hazards of their semiannual treks.

Industriousness is extremely desirable, but work under the glaring sun of southern Arizona requires patient and willing perseverance, not as does the tense rhythm of seasonal work, strict training in co-ordination, and accuracy.

Coherence of the family as a working group is necessary, but in this sparsely

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155 157 populated country, where a lone man runs the risk of starvation, the natural bonds of emotional attachment do not have to be rigidly enforced by a centralized authoritative system.

The training given to Papago children with regard to dangers which may threaten their life and well-being has also probably been largely determined by the environment. The wide desert with its sparse vegetation of cacti and low brush, with its rim of moderately high mountain chains, with its poor water supply and a temperature rising in summer to 120 degrees Fahrenheit, has at once protected and exposed its inhabitants through times immemorable.

It has protected them from close and constant pressure of outside enemies and has exposed them to those comparatively few who, like the Apache, were daring enough to break into this country of little promise and great menace. Without natural strongholds steadfast resistance was no defense. Though there are still remnants in the desert of crude walls behind which several Papago groups attempted to defend themselves, their major defense apparently lay in escape. Again and again whole family units threatened by raiding Apache left the sites of their villages and settled in distant parts of the desert.

Even today, when the Papago expect a visitor from the Agency whom they fear or dislike, they may leave their houses and hide in the mountains until they feel safe again.

Factors of simultaneous protection and exposure are also present in the daily life of those who call the desert their home. The desert's vastness alone provides security in cases of localized famine, drought, and epidemics, for almost always means of subsistence can be found in other valleys or in the mountains. On the other hand, sudden dangers which could not be prevented by prevision and planning have been a constant threat: dangerous snakes and insects, prolific in the desert, may injure the most cautious and careful. As the Papago evade enemy attacks, so they try to avoid the unmanageable dangers of daily life. In discussing Papago children's reactions to frightening experiences, we have already noted the apparent strength of this trend, and we have seen that it goes with the tendency to interpret danger as a manifestation of supernatural and magical forces.

Not only the obviously and physically harmful are avoided; the chipmunk, the rabbit, one's own dog, and even the beloved horse may unpredictably turn into a supernatural agent dealing out misery and death.

In this system of child-training, the imbuement of everything outside of family and friends with potentially menacing traits probably enormously increases the security the child finds in the family and, at the same time, produces from an early age the constant defensive awareness and caution neces-

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sary for survival in the desert. The magical interpretation of dangers very probably prevents this device from harmfully inhibiting individual liberty of action, as far as this is desirable in Papago society. Every event being two-faced (i.e., having both simple objective reality and potential supernatural significance which of itself implies danger), man's attitude toward it will be cautious awareness but not discouragement. The chances are that, if he behaves appropriately and is a good Papago, the supernatural will not act.

If, with these implications of Papago child-training in mind, we turn back to the picture of average personality structure presented by the Rorschach test, we find that Papago children indeed seem to be influenced by the factors we have mentioned.

They show a comparative simplicity of traits and reactions which may be a result of little differentiated outside and inside pressure. In this respect, Papago children of high and low intelligence, of outgoing or withdrawn type, closely resemble one another. Emotional development appears as an increase in depth of the same emotions and attitudes rather than as a widening in reactions and outlook.

Quite vivacious and spontaneous in their emotions, Papago children display toward the world and its stimulations an attitude strangely composed of acceptance and rejection. This attitude of rejection, however, seems to be quite easily broken down or abandoned at will. Such rather precarious resistance to a tempting or irritating world is evidently their primary means of curbing drives which become too strong or too disturbing. In the light of child-training pattern, which aims at smooth co-operation without enforcing strict obedience, the relative lack of specific means of self-control regarding social relations is not surprising; satisfactory adjustment to Papago society is apparently possible without it.

The children's tendency to shut themselves off from the outside world by bluntly rejecting it may be closely related to the following findings. Papago children, more than any of the five Indian tribes studied, are inclined to get caught by their own imaginations, into which they withdraw. These fancies frequently seem to be an almost automatic association, loosely connected to reality. Therefore, they are likely to appear irrational, vaguely defined, and diffuse.

This trait is quite different from the escapist's withdrawal into a fantasy world of his own or from the introvert's controlling his conflicts by means of a strongly developed inner life. It resembles more closely the psychological state of a seer or medium and seems to be related to that peculiar infusion of reality with supernatural and magical concepts which is an important part of Papago

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life and child-training. Apparently it operates as an almost automatic control in occasions of stress and conflict. In this sort of withdrawal which usually appears to be an intermittent reaction, not a definite introversion, the Papago child temporarily stops functioning as a social being and—quite legitimately according to his culture—isolates his personal drives of disturbing strength or direction in his imaginings.

Together with this reaction goes a tendency to evade commitments whenever possible. If pressed for decision, the children try to withdraw into themselves or appease the demanding agent with what they think is the minimum that may satisfy him and that may be conceded without exposing themselves. This trend, as we have noted, corresponds to an important function in Papago culture.

The most interesting result obtained with the Rorschach test is with regard to Papago children's mental approach, which is characterized by a strong drive to impose subjective interpretation upon reality and to avoid categorizing. We have already seen that the basis of this quality probably lies in the fusion of magical thought and reality in Papago culture, and we may assume that it is closely interrelated with the tendency to yield to imagining, as well as with the particular nature of the things imagined.

The influence which such findings may have upon the evaluation of the results of the Grace Arthur intelligence test is perhaps worth some consideration. According to the Rorschach test, aside from the tendency to avoid categorizing, Papago children seem to be capable of forming clear, objective concepts; but, especially when facing new and disquieting problems, this capacity and their fair faculty of differentiation, and of more complex organization of thoughts, are at times entirely obscured. Since the Arthur test scores these latter qualities for the most part, it is possible that this factor may have lowered the average I.Q. of western Papago children, who are more dominated by their native culture than the eastern children.

This also explains the low average level of creativity in Papago children according to the Rorschach test. They use imagination for personal control and satisfaction rather than objectifying it. Papago express themselves artistically in singing—the most subjective of all arts, in which the singer projects his feelings more into the rhythm or melody than into clearly formed thoughts—and by basketry the beauty of which is mainly achieved with a strong color contrast of black and white and much less often by a balanced or subtle design. Papago children's originality, as it appears in the Rorschach test, lies chiefly in the strange and quite often unreal quality of their thought content and is usually not accompanied by highly differentiated perception.

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BENEATH THE SURFACE

It is necessary to point out that, in spite of the apparent influence of magical concepts upon their thinking and in spite of their peculiar trend toward withdrawal, Papago children seem to be relatively at ease and undisturbed. If the child's fancies are at times horrifying, anxiety is possibly greatly reduced by recognizing the source of terror as in the area of the supernatural. This mechanism, absolving the individual from responsibility for his own conflicts, probably prevents a lasting traumatic effect upon his personality. It is therefore not surprising that free-floating anxiety is an inconspicuous trait in Papago children, according to the Rorschach test.

The main direct outlet these children have is the strong, natural function of their instinctual drives, including those of sexual nature. Papago culture apparently does not have sexual restrictions other than those regarding married women and young girls, and even these do not seem to be very rigid. Sex itself is not evaluated as "good" or "bad."

Lastly, one peculiar feature of the Rorschach findings may be mentioned, though it is not evident from the average results of the whole group but is an impression which arises only when the individual records are scrutinized: although Papago children's personality patterns show structural simplicity, individual differences are quite marked. Moreover, the records suggest that individuals are exceedingly responsive to formative influences of their direct environment (family constellation and coincidental events). This susceptibility combined with the over-all simplicity of the personality pattern seems to favor pronounced individualization within a limited range of traits, producing a curious effect—as though each individual were a specific reactive type. The reader will get a similar impression from the sketches of eight Papago children included in the Appendix.

The results of the other projective test used in this study—the Thematic Apperception—are to a high degree consistent with those of the Rorschach. This test also found in Papago children a certain lack of personality elaboration, unsophisticated spontaneity, a relatively loose discipline, importance of fantasy life, little anxiety, and unrestricted impulses (particularly sexual impulses).